COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 20.] *London, Saturday, 5th June,* 1802. [Price 10D.

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TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

The debates in Parliament are deservedly the regulators of public opinion. The acknowledged information of those who speak, and the official nature of the speeches of ministers, give to all arguments urged there a weight which any other discussion of public measures cannot possess. It is, therefore, Sir, of the greatest importance that the public should be fully and accurately acquainted with whatever passes there, and this information is the most valuable consequence of the liberty of the press.

But, although the parliamentary discussion has advantages, yet there the debates, like all debates in large assemblies, where many different speakers take opposite sides of the subject, assume a desultory form, must frequently deviate from the essential point at issue, or what is termed the jet of the question, and must sometimes leave arguments unanswered, without shewing that they are so. To remedy this in the instance of the late important discussion of the treaty of Amiens, to combine the various arguments for and against this measure, to shew what are answered and how they are answered, in short, to sum up the debates and bring the important question within the focus of converging but different arguments, for the sake of those who may not have leisure to extract light from the chaos of disputation, is the object of this letter. I shall endeavour to do it with conciseness. I am sure I shall do it with impartiality. As the debates in both houses were exactly on the same point, and as the arguments took a similar turn in both, I shall consider them as one.

Sir W. Grant urged that the motive of the address moved by Mr. Windham was plainly to renew the war, and that the probable effect of it would be to raise claims on the part of France, which she might not have thought tenable had they not been urged with so much force in this country. This however is fully answered in Lord Grenville's speech, in which it was urged, that to stigmatize an injurious and disgraceful peace would be completely a constitutional object, and to censure the minister who concluded it; but that his lordship and his friends wished to awaken the people to their danger, to make them watchful against French encroachment, and not to induce ministers to violate the public faith, but on the contrary to secure the continuance of peace by entering into a full explanation, with the French government, on such equivocal and dubious points in the treaty of Amiens as were likely to produce future dispute—before we paid the price of our tranquillity by the surrender of our conquests.

With these views the first objection urged against the definitive treaty was the wide deviation of it from the preliminary articles. This was not so in the treaties of 63 and 83. That this ought not to be so was the opinion of the great Lord Chatham, who laid it down, that preliminaries should be in themselves definitive. By the abandonment of this principle, the preliminaries had, in fact, operated as a naval armistice, a measure which we had before refused, and into which we were now entrapped. But what added to the impolicy of this conduct the change was egregiously in favour of the enemy, notwithstanding their encroachments on the Continent, and our permission of their expedition to St. Domingo might have entitled us to demand some advantages for ourselves in return, to rise instead of falling in our terms. To this objection I find no answer made by ministers unless it be the hopes they express of Buonaparté's generous forbearance towards this country, an answer that amounts to a full confession of the charge.

In the next place Lord Grenville objected to the provision in the definitive treaty for the sale of the enemies property in islands ceded to us while there is none made for the disposal of British property in the colonies which we are to restore—a flagrant breach of equity, by which a large British capital is lost to us and transferred to our rivals. This, Sir, met with an answer not more satisfactory than the last. Lord Hawkesbury said that those who embarked

their fortunes in newly conquered colonies did it knowingly on a risk of their restoration. This is not *exactly* the case. For nobody could imagine that any negotiators would neglect to stipulate that the English settlers should have liberty of sale for a time after the surrender, though that time should be short. Nor, were the fact true, is it an answer *ad rem*; for the principal duty of our ministers was not to treat for the West-India planters in these islands as individuals for the sake of doing *them* justice to a scruple, but to consider the interests of the nation at large, to provide for them accordingly, and not to make a provision for the Spaniards and Dutch in Trinidad and Ceylon which they did not for the English in Demerary. And this neglect is highly culpable in itself; but when we reflect on the number of settlements we have ceded, and on the vast capital laid out on them, our censure warms into indignation.

With regard to prisoners of war we find equal injustice towards England in the peace, by making the maintenance, &c. of Russian prisoners a set-off against that of the French prisoners here. To this Lord Hawkesbury replied, that being clothed, paid, and disposed of by Great-Britain, they were British soldiers to all intents and purposes: and this would be a fair conclusion were the fact true; but the fact was, as Mr. Thomas Grenville stated, that these Russians were armed, clothed, and set at liberty to gratify the Emperor Paul, and with other artifices to seduce him from our alliance; so that they were not *at the disposal* of our government, nor better entitled to be maintained by us than deserters to the French would be. And thus it is, that we complaisantly reimburse the French the expenses of seducing our ally.

But these, though important causes of discontent with the treaty of Amiens, shrink into insignificance when compared with the numerous and fatal effects of not renewing those ancient treaties, which have been the security of Europe and the defensive out-works of our policy and commerce. This neglect is unprecedented, and the effects of it already appear in the prohibition of our gum trade on the Senegal, which France has not lost a moment in issuing.* This fact at once overturns Sir William Grant's reasoning—that if France be so unprincipled as to take advantage of this omission against our most indubitable rights, the whole treaty is but waste paper; or perhaps points it *against* administration for yielding so much to *such* an enemy for such *insecure* repose: the French have done this with regard to the gum trade, and from t is we may infer that they will do it with respect to the other points thus left open to litigation.—Lord Hawkesbury, however, urged another argument, that such was the change of circumstances in Europe, that a renewal of treaties would produce obligations we could not fulfil, such for instance as the guarantee of the Netherlands to Austria, and many others—a difficulty we could overcome only by a counter guarantee of the French acquisitions to France, and that by this we should become parties to the wrongs of Europe; whereas at present, if we could not prevent, we at least did not sanction them.

But this objection, as Mr. Thomas Grenville very justly observed, does not counterbalance the security which the renewal would give to the many scattered rights we possess in different parts of the globe, and some of them arising out of territories subject to France and Spain. The acknowledgment of our full sovereignty over India situated in another hemisphere, is surely of much greater importance to us than our guarantee of the contiguous territory on the Rhine can be to her. Her acquiescence in our right to trade in her own colony of Senegal, and to cut logwood in the Spanish territory of Honduras, rights we possess without the dominion of the soil where they arise, is surely more necessary to our enjoyment of those rights than our acknowledgment of the Italian Republic can be to her sovereignty over Lombardy. The value of a guarantee to the party is in an inverse ratio with the security of dominion over the country guaranteed; and when that security is great the guarantee is of little value. The renewal therefore of former treaties acknowledging our rights at Senegal, in Honduras, in India, the Eastern Seas, &c. was an advantage that completely superceded the inconvenience of acknowledging the European conquests of France. And in fact though we have not formally entered into a guarantee, we have yet most effectually secured the usurpation to Buonaparté by making peace, which was all he wanted, that time might cement the vast fabric which his victories had constructed.

My Lord Hawkesbury has then stood on a *punctilio*, while he has sacrificed all that was essential—a thing in point of precedent not quite new in English diplomacy. But

* Vide Lord Grenville.

the acuteness of Sir W. Grant has unfortunately furnished the opponents to the peace with a new arrangement; for this learned gentleman, after denying that old treaties were renewed at Ryswick and Utrecht, observes, that out of the various conventions concluded since King William's time, those articles which were of importance to us might have been selected and inserted in the present treaty;—but adds rather extraordinarily, that this objection might be answered when it should be made. This reasoning indeed, would have been of some consequence if the object the opposers of the peace had in view had been to prove the superiority of Mr. Windham and Lord Grenville over Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury;—but as their object is to prevent as much as possible the bad effects of the treaty of Amiens, as their opposition is not against men, but measures; this observation of Sir William's cannot operate to justify, but on the contrary to condemn the peace.

This non-renewal of treaties is an objection to the peace, that embraces so many particulars, that it will be necessary to state the arguments urged on each distinct point separately. And first, Sir, the honour of the flag is greatly endangered by it. The answer of ministers to this was, that this right is founded on prescription, and that if formerly we obliged Holland specifically to acknowledge it, it was because she had disputed it; we could not, therefore, now demand the formal acknowledgment of it from France; and then, my Lord Hawkesbury adds, in the true spirit of his former punctilio, that it would be beneath our character to demand that of a weaker, which we did not of a more powerful, state. To this I do not find the opposers of the peace made any answer,—and I wish the French would make none. His lordship's reasoning, however, is not itself an answer to the original charge; for the object of treaties on the part of nations that are not conquerors is not to acquire *new rights*, but to confirm *the old*. Ministers seem to have forgotten this object throughout the present treaty, and in every argument urged in its support. They say we have the right; why do you impeach it? But the opposers of the peace do not; on the contrary, they wish to save these rights, and they demand of ministers why they have left them open to cavil? why have they not entrenched them as in former treaties behind positive stipulations? A question which ministers have found it more convenient to evade than to answer.

Upon this our yet unanswered principle is, that the right claimed by the Dutch to the *exclusive* navigation of the Eastern Sea, a claim which M. Schimmelpenninck, their plenipotentiary, has already asserted to be restored to them by the peace, ought to have been positively relinquished by Holland in the present treaty. On this same ground it is also, that the peace, by not renewing the convention of 1787, endangers our rights in India;—not because they are ill founded, or in other words, not rights at all; but, because the French have formerly disputed them, and the treaty of Amiens does not stipulate for their acknowledgment. The opposers of this peace do not demand a cession from France of *her own* power in India, but a recognition of *ours*. The answer, therefore, of Lord Hawkesbury's, that formerly we and the French were both tenants under grants (*firmauns*) from the Mogul; but that now by conquest *we* have succeeded to the Mogul's fee simple of the country, and that the French must hold under us;—consequently, that no acknowledgment on their part can be requisite; however good an answer to make to Buonaparté, was none to Mr. Windham. For though the acknowledgment of France is not necessary to our *right*, yet it is to the *security* of that right.

In reply to this argument, which was in substance urged by Mr. Thomas Grenville, Mr. Dundas had recourse to our military force in India, and expressed great confidence of the strength of our arms, if France should dispute our rights. This, however, is very doubtful, notwithstanding our Indian army; for, as Mr. Windham observed, the battle might be fought in Europe; but supposing it probable that our arms should succeed, yet as the truth of this is only applicable to *war* it cannot be any justification of the *peace*.

Another defence set up by Lord Hawkesbury, and I believe by Mr. Dundas too, is equally futile; namely, that the convention of 1787, the renewal of which was urged by the opposite side was but a remedy for the poison contained in the treaty of 1783, and that we have now, as Lord Hawkesbury expressed it, got rid of the disease and remedy at once; as if the most uninformed could believe, that we should have made any stipulations in the treaty of 83 about claims the French had never advanced. The fact is that the treaty of 83 did not

make sufficient provision against French claims *then* existing; which I am sorry to say, is the case with that of 1802. The treaty of 83 was an inadequate remedy against a poison *already* existing, and in 1802, by dismissing both that and the convention of 87, we have not got rid of the *poison*, but only of the *remedies*; and to continue his lordship's allusion, I can only compare his conduct to that of an invalid, who because quack medicines have failed to cure him, refuses to take any, and thus wisely leaves himself at the mercy of chance and the disease.

X.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Proverbs and old sayings have been often thought to contain a great deal of wisdom in a small compass. They are chemical drops of good sense drawn from observation and experience, and generally given in a vehicle of agreeable poignancy. A striking figure taken from common life, an alliteration in the language, or antithesis in the composition, the jingle of rhyme, or the cadence of metre, recommends them to the natural taste, and impresses them on the memory of the multitude. The country, Sir, in which you passed many years of your life, has not yet forgotten, I believe, the effect produced by a collection of them, which the late Dr. Franklin introduced in Poor Richard's Almanack: and Dean Swift is reported to have coined them, as occasion required, in conversation.

The present is the epoch of a new and more enlightened philosophy, totally unlike any thing which our forefathers dreamed about; and we ought, if possible, to preserve some portion of it in a commodious form for the use of posterity. Lord Hawkesbury, whom I name to honour, has made one or two very pretty attempts to give currency to some elegant and choice phrases of his own, a little in this style. Instead of the old jargon of the *status quo* and the *uti possidetis*, the noble lord wished to substitute "*the time, the tone, and the terms*" of his treaty, as the only proper objects of consideration. The notion was happy: it promised to hit the popular taste to a T, at the time that men's brains were set spinning like a *tetotum* by the "delirium of joy;" but in the course of the many impertinent and unfair discussions which his lordship's great work has since undergone, he found "*the tone and the terms*" so little tenable, that he was reduced at last to the cruel necessity of contenting himself with humbly and faintly submitting, that *the time made it* "*wise upon the whole*," to lower his *tone* and accept for *terms* whatever the First Consul was graciously pleased to grant. The public and private degradation of this confession, Sir, might be borne; but how terrible a trial of temper to a true taste was it absolutely to abandon such an admirable alliteration so artfully accommodated to apology in all after-ages.

The sincere compassion which I feel for the noble lord, induces me to offer the only consolation in my power. All I can do is to make a modest attempt at perpetuating the sum of his excellent arguments for three hours and a half in defence of his own treaty, by compressing them into the space of three short lines. I am well aware, Sir, that there already exist some very good proverbs, which probably his Majesty's ministers studied during the late negotiations. They had read, I presume, that "*honour* "*and ease are seldom bedfellows*," so, thinking it is "*good sleeping*" in quiet as well as "*in a whole skin*," they even left British honour to compose herself as she could in what Hudibras calls her own truckle-bed, that they might themselves enjoy a comfortable nap "with ease and dignity," a much better-behaved companion than honour, on the soft cushions of the treasury bench. The association of "peace and plenty" in their minds was perhaps assisted by learning that "*honour buys no beef in the market*," they may have comforted themselves in restoring factories, towns, islands, settlements, and continents, to the enemy, that, after all, "*half an acre is good land*;" and above all, they may have resolved on peace at any rate, by reflecting, that "*mettle is dangerous* "*in a blind horse*." All these ingenious sayings, with many more as good, may be found in Dr. Vicesimus Knox's Elegant Extracts for the use of school-boys; but I trust that in the next edition the doctor will place at the head of them, and in capitals, the following couplet, of which I leave the nation to judge whether the lesson contained in it, so useful to keep us in future out of the dangers of war, be not worth every thing that we have gained besides by the treaty of Amiens,

"Tis wise upon the whole,
To have no heart and soul.

The first line, it will instantly be perceived, is borrowed word for word from very high authority, and both together are, I am sure, the genuine quintessence of all that has been written and said, and said and written on the noble lord's side of the question, from Philanglus the first and best, down to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the last and worst defender of the present peace.

As I mean to be impartial, Mr. Cobbett, I shall now try to epitomize in the same manner the attacks made by the minority, or, as I think they have been called, *the* CONFEDERACY *for the purpose of supplanting ministers*. These gentlemen too seem to me to have urged very little more than is substantially to be found in some old proverbs, though, I am concerned to add, not all of English origin. The address which they proposed, merely says, in effect, that "*courtesy* "*on one side only lasts not long*;" while "*arms carry peace along with them, and one* "*sword keeps another in the scabbard.*" It was their opinion, as well as I can collect it, that, when kicked through every quarter of the globe, kicked out of Martinique and Tobago, out of Curaçoa, Essequibo, Demerara and Surinam, without being allowed to button up in our breeches pocket a purse of between ten and twenty millions, which we have left behind us in those places; kicked out of the Spice Islands, out of Pondicherry, Surat, Cochin, Chandernagore, Chinsurah, and I know not how many other French and Dutch settlements in the East; kicked out of the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Malta in Africa; kicked out of St. Marcou and Minorca in Europe; kicked out of the right to protect our allies; and kicked into giving our consent to the spoliation of their territories; if, after all we choose to take a plaister of bad diachylon powdered with cantharides as indemnity and security, rather than fall to kicking and cuffing again, nothing will remain in future, but at every menace of another kicking to put ourselves into the least inconvenient posture for suffering the operation, and to take the best care we are able, that the dirty foot which inflicts it, may not leave a mark upon our cloaths. There will be no point, at which we can stop, in the descent of humiliation.

He, who takes kicks,
To nothing sticks.

The noble Secretary of State made another well-intended essay in the alliterative style. It was a sort of sentiment which at first was thought worthy of three cheers:—the six C.'s—"*capital, credit, and confidence constantly command commerce.*" But alas! it being found, that the commercial men of the city are not inspired by the wise heads of his Majesty's ministers with any such *confidence* as to give them *credit* for any thing of *capital*; and the noble lord and his colleagues having heard so much elsewhere, without the confidence to deny how much more *capital* a consideration is the *credit* of our national character, than the paper of our private merchants or the Bank of England itself; for one or other of these reasons, the elegant phrase to which I have alluded, has been dropped. I certainly cannot pretend to supply the deficiency with any thing of equal beauty: but I will venture to recommend this adage in commemoration of Lord Hawkesbury's celebrated discovery, connected with that happy alliteration,

When old treaties cease,
Trade and shipping increase.

But as I wish these new chemicals of mine to operate at both ends, (as an eminent state doctor lately said of the Galenicals of the new firm in opposition) at the east as well as the west end of the town; and as the coal-fitters, ship-owners, and directors of the India Company, with some strange obstinacy or other, persist in saying, that the value of shipping has actually fallen between thirty and fifty per cent. in consequence of the peace; that I may save this ink which future Bentleys and Baxters might otherwise shed in controversies about conjectural emendations, it may be proper here to observe, that where the reading of St. James's is "*increase*," that of the Royal Exchange is "*decrease*," and the latter is generally thought to be of higher authority.

The noble negotiator of the treaty, Sir, has received very ample praise from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He may, therefore, now afford the use of his name to convey a plain matter of fact to posterity. It may be surely no derogation from the talents of that respectable nobleman to say, that he was never taken for a conjuror; and in future, probably, it will be an undisputed truth, that "*though every witch has a broom,* "*every* BROOM *is not a witch.*" The noble marquis is well known in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and I have heard a triplet, which, from one word in the conclusion, I suspect to have come from a native of that country, who has been

amusing himself with new "Meditations "on a Broomstick." It is at your service, Mr. Cobbett, if you think it can furnish any entertainment to your readers.

With a Joseph to cheat,
Send a Broomstick to treat,
Your success must be neat!

As proverbs and adages concentrate observation and knowledge, so the names which have been conferred on illustrious persons, on account of their qualities or their actions, often paint a whole character in a single word. One of our kings who had lost his crown was called lack-land, another from his romantic valour was known by the name of lion-hearted, and a third from a peculiarity in his person has, among our gravest historians, the sirname of long-shanks. But that ground, as I understand from the newspapers, has been already beaten by Mr. Sheridan, and it is no less difficult to add any thing in elegant aptitude of language than in the dazzling brilliancy of wit to his polished composition, or meditated effusions of eloquence. I shall, therefore, content myself with the humble part of pointing out how you may make his suggestions of more general and extensive use.

He observed, that, notwithstanding Mr. Dundas had long since declared the minister who dared to surrender the Cape of Good Hope ought to lose his head, yet, that Mr. Addington at this very moment actually has a head upon his shoulders. Now, though I am aware that some subtle reasoners may contend that a man should rather be characterized according to that which he ought to be than that which he physically is, and consequently that, on the authority of Mr. Dundas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be called "*the* "*minister without a head*," yet, as it is an undoubted fact that there is at the upper end of Mr. Addington's person a projecting excrescence of flesh and bone, of use to hang a hat or full bottomed wig upon, I with all deference propose that, when you have occasion to refer to that great statesman, he may be called "*the minister with a* "*head*."

Having thus provided for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, you will probably be anxious to pay your compliments next to your favourite correspondent Lord Hawkesbury. As his lordship is himself alone, nearly all that remains of administration, may we not, Sir, fairly appropriate to him in a more particular manner the designation which the modern Aristophanes, in a story picked up from some obscure commentator or other on the ancient, applied to the whole of the ministry left behind him by Mr. Pitt? May not his lordship be called the *sitting part* of Lord Grenville? And as that, Mr. Cobbett, is the blind side of a man, perhaps that name alone will, at once in the fullest, fairest, and most natural manner, account for the lamentable difference so apparent between the projet of Lisle and the treaty of Amiens?

One of the greatest honours in Rome was that of being recorded in the inscriptions and statues as the father of cities. How much more honourable then must be an inscription to the father of islands? And since Mr. Sheridan has named Ceylon and Trinidad the islands of Indemnity and Security, may I then take the liberty of recommending through your paper to the City Committee the following inscription.

The Father
of
Indemnity and Security
to
Great-Britain.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the words are a little ambiguous and equivocal, as not sufficiently distinguishing whether two existing islands, or two possibly existing metaphysical notions are intended. To this I answer that they are, for that very reason, so much the more beautiful and apposite; as, for ten years together they were pompously sounded again and again without any determinate signification, till at one time they were discovered to mean Ceylon and Trinidad with the Cape of Good Hope and Cochin, and afterwards, when 200 millions more had been spent and our adversaries had become more formidable, were declared to mean only Ceylon and Trinidad without the Cape and Cochin, and might have been applied with equal justice and consistency if we had insisted on retaining only the barren rock of Marcou.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

J. Ray.

TO THE REV. MESSRS. NARES AND BELOE,

Conductors and Proprietors of the British Critic.

Gentlemen,

I have long observed, and not without great mortification, that the British Critic has abandoned the principles, upon which

it set out, and that it has, in many instances, favoured the cause of the PURITANS.

On two articles, in your last number, I think it my duty to make some remarks. The first is your review (if, indeed, it can be so called) of *a sermon on bull-baiting*, preached by the Rev. Edward Barry, in the parish church of Wokingham, Berks, on the 20th of Dec. 1801, being the day previous to the annual bull-bait in that town. After bestowing some commendation on the sermon, you say: "we find with regret, that, "*even in Parliament*, this SAVAGE SPORT "has been *again defended*. But we learn "with *astonishment*, that, in the parish of "Wokingham, not only one bull is pro- "vided by the charitable donation of Geo. "Staverton, in 1661, but a second bull is "purchased annually out of the poor rates;" for which you censure the parish officers, and the justices for allowing "such an un- "warrantable article in the overseers' ac- "counts." You conclude by asking this question: "after all, is not every bull-bait- "ing indictable at common law, as a pub- "lic nuisance?"

That you should think bull-baiting a "savage sport" would not be at all astonishing, had you not had an opportunity of perusing the late debate in Parliament; but having had that opportunity, and having, as evidently appears from your own reflections, actually perused that debate, your observations may be fairly ascribed to perverseness.

As to the conduct of the parish-officers of Wokingham, I can, for my part, perceive nothing censurable in it, though so loudly condemned by Mr. Barry and the British Critics. It is the duty of those officers to provide *meat* for the poor; bull-beef is the cheapest, and I see no harm, no "*misapply-* "*ing* of the money entrusted to them," if the overseers can find the means of at once providing the poor with food and with sport at the festive season of the year. Nor is there any thing "*savage*" in the practice. The poor at Wokingham first bait the bull, and afterwards slaughter him and eat him, with just as little ferocity as the lord of the manor first hunts the hare to death, worries her and breaks her heart, and then devours her, broken heart and all. The magistrates are guilty of no "negligence" in allowing the charge in the overseers' accounts. The Court of King's Bench *would* compel them to allow it. It is a charge for the price of a bull, purchased for and given to the poor: with the manner of treating that bull, previous to the killing of him, neither the magistrates nor the Court of King's Bench have any right of inquiry.

No, no, gentlemen, be assured, that bull-baiting is *not* "indictable at common law, "as a public nuisance." The common law, on the contrary, fully sanctions the baiting of bulls, and, I believe, that to sell the flesh of a bull, which has *not* been baited, is an offence, which is punishable by that very law, to which you appeal. You have echoed the puritanical denunciation, which has rung, and which is yet ringing, through every part of the country. In the hands of the busy sect, which has undertaken to *reform* the manners of the people, the law would become a most dreadful scourge; a curse instead of a blessing. The life of a poor man would be ten million times worse than that of a negro slave. Every assemblage of persons, except at a club or conventicle, would be embraced in the vague denomination of "a public nui- "sance." The "ungodly games and anti- "christian sports," against which the murderers of the martyr Charles so furiously inveighed, would be totally suppressed, as a prelude to the ulterior views of the "gos- "pel-preaching ministry," who have already created a schism in that church, which it is your duty to defend, but which you have shamefully deserted. No, no, gentlemen, the law is not yet to be twisted to the purposes of this gloomy and intolerant sect. For those, who assemble to commit acts of violence on the persons or the property of his Majesty's subjects; for the base villains who, under the cover of night, lead an ignorant rabble to demolish a man's house, the law has, indeed, provided a punishment; but none has it ever contemplated for those who, without injuring the person or property of their neighbour, choose to enjoy the contest between two of those animals, from which, though man is their sovereign lord, he derives the most noble example of courage and of fortitude.

The other article of your Review, to which I have alluded, is the very laconic notice, which, in your address to correspondents, you have given with respect to the letter of Mr. *Spencer*. Your words are these: "Mr. *Spencer's Letter*, and other mat- "ters relating to it, will be *taken into con-* "*sideration* NEXT MONTH." Next month! and then only *taken into consideration!* No promise to *insert*, even then, either it or the documents with which it was accompanied? Nobody can learn from you who Mr. Spencer is, or what is the subject of his letter. And did you think, gentlemen, that you

would be able to conceal the contents of this letter? Did you think to suppress it, 'till you had been able to obtain some palliative subterfuge, some plausible excuse, some puritanical evasion? Did you hope to procure for yourselves and your abettors a thirty days' reprieve from the disgrace which these documents will bring down upon your heads? Did you, could you possibly hope, that the press of the whole country was so venal and so base as to refuse justice to the poor, the oppressed, and the calumniated curate of Blagdon?

I have charged you with shamefully deserting the cause of the church. This charge is too serious to rest on bare assertion; I shall, therefore, substantiate it by proof.

It is not necessary for me to go into a narrative of the Blagdon controversy; to remind you that Mr. Bere, the curate of Blagdon, was secretly accused by Mrs. Hannah More, because he had insisted that her Methodistical school-master should be discharged from the sunday-school of the parish; that Mr. Bere was finally dismissed from his curacy, in consequence of this secret accusation; that he was afterwards re-instated, without any solicitation on his part, and without any acknowledgment of the injury attempted to be done to his character. I need not remind you, that Mrs. More and her adherents have, in the course of this controversy, been accused of methodism, and still less is it necessary for me to say, that you have uniformly defended Mrs. More and as uniformly condemned her opponent, whom, though one of your own brethren, you have treated with every species of contempt and abuse. All this is fresh in your memory, and in the memory of the public. One thing, however, you may have forgotten: you have solemnly declared, that the moment, you should receive proof of Mrs. More's being a methodist, you would give up her cause. And, have you not received this proof in the letter of Mr. Spencer, and its accompanying documents? Read those papers once more, gentlemen. Mr. Spencer reminds you of your declaration, and calls upon you to do justice to Mr. Bere; and lest you should have lost the most important of his documents I shall here copy them from the Anti-Jacobin Review, which, fortunately for the cause of truth, breathes, though conducted by a layman, that zeal for the church of England, which, in the British Critic, has been sought for in vain.

(A) "*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ridout, dated Bristol, Dec. 26th, 1801, to Mr. Spencer, of Wells.*

"Sir,

"John Harvard has preached at Mr. Westley's room, in Old King-street, which is known by the name of Eben-e-zir Chapel. I have the information from his own mother. I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

"*C. Ridout.*"

(B) *Copy from Edward Shepherd, D. D. Chatham-row, Bath, to Mr. Spencer.*

"Sir,

"In compliance with your request, I inform you that Mr. Jay told me, that Mrs. Hannah More used *constantly* to attend his ministry, and received the *Sacrament* in his Meeting-house, in Argyle-street, Bath, or, as Dissenters term it, the Ordinance, thereby proving herself in *full Communion* with Dissenters. How she came to leave his Ministry and frequent Laura Chapel I cannot inform you; that is best known to herself. Mr. Jay says he frequently dined with her. I am, Sir, your's, &c. &c.

"*Edw. Sheppard,*

"*Jan. 18th,* 1802."

Part of a letter, sent you by Mr. Spencer with the foregoing documents, will shew who the writers of the last letters to Mr. S. are, and moreover will throw some light on the circumstances to which they allude.

"In your review of the last month, you say, "*if it be proved to us that Mrs. More is a methodist* "*we defend her no longer*;" in reply thereto I must again refer you to my advertisement, entitled, 'One 'other sample of Mrs. H. More's Village Politics,' and likewise to my pamphlet: however, to assist your decision, I now send you the annexed documents, A and B, attested by the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Turner, one of his Majesty's justices for this county, and canon of Wells.—Mr. Ridout's letter (A) proves Harvard, the Wedmore schoolmaster, to be a methodist with a vengeance. Mr. Ridout is a linen merchant of high respectability in the city of Bristol. Dr. Sheppard's letter proves Mrs. More to be in full communion with that sect.—Dr. Sheppard lives in Bath, and formerly preached in Lady Huntingdon's chapel: having some little acquaintance with him, I desired him to call on Mr. Jay, to ascertain the fact, and in reply received the letter (B).—Dr. Sheppard has since informed me that *Mr. Jay told him he had heard Mrs. More frequently say,* '*she could find no people so fit as the methodists to* '*conduct her schools.*' Mr. Boak likewise told Mrs. Shortman of Wedmore, '*that Mrs. More could find* '*no people so fit to manage her schools as methodists*;' and Mr. Boak's *own daughter*, at this moment, goes to a boarding school in Bridgewater, kept by Mrs. Taylor, a methodist. Mrs. Taylor's relations, who live in Wells, have informed me of the fact.

"These potent and irrefragable proofs of the sectarism of Mrs. More and her instruments, will, I hope, impress you with that conviction which you waited for, to draw your conclusions; and I trust, that with every true friend of our ecclesiastical government, you will perceive, with your general consistency and attachment to the church, that you can 'no longer 'defend' a character, whose principles have led her one Sunday to the SACRAMENT of the *established* cler-

gyman; and the following, to the ORDINANCE of a LAYMAN;—a practice which she has been in the habit of following for the long course of 15 years, though during that period (the whole of which she has proved herself a Calvinist) she has had the art to dazzle the optics of those who fill the highest civil and religious stations, and even to draw from their pockets the means of carrying her views into effect.——Should any doubt still remain on your minds, I hope on a future occasion to dispel them. In the mean time I am,

"Very respectfully and obediently, your's, &c.

"*Edward Spencer.*

"*Wells, May 20th*, 1802."

Now, gentlemen, is not this proof? Is not Mr. Spencer, who is a Surgeon at Wells, a person to be believed? And how have you treated his proofs? Do you think that the negative construction of your declaration, cited by Mr. Spencer, will absolve you from the spirit of its engagement? Are you not at this moment *defending* Mrs. More by suppressing, as far as in you lies, the information, the evidence, the *proof*, that you have received? You will *consider* of it *next month!* You did not hesitate thus at the commencement of the controversy, when you thought the poor curate was devoted to destruction. Would a "savage" bull-baiter have acted thus?

For the present, gentlemen, I take my leave of you, not, however, without a promise (which I shall keep better than you have kept yours), that, unless you do justice to Mr. Bere, I will enter into a full and clear exposure of the motives and of the influence from which you have acted.

I remain, in the mean-time,
Gentlemen,
Your most humble
and obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

June 3, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuse to the French Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

Harbour of Cape François, on board the Admiral's Ship, the Jemappe, March 6, 1802.

"At the moment when the division of the centre, Admiral Gantheaume, was about to set sail, the frigate La Corneille, from Jamaica, entered the Road. I hasten to acquaint you with the news received by her.

"The English Admiral, Sir John Duckworth, behaved with the most distinguished politeness to Captain Villemaudrin, and Ensign de Vaisseau Clouet, who carried to him my Dispatches. He seized the opportunity of celebrating the return of Peace between the two Nations: the Frigate saluted the Admiral and the town with a discharge of thirteen pieces of cannon, which were returned in the same manner by the Admiral and the Forts. All the Captains of the English Squadron hastened to make preparations for the visit of Captain Villemaudrin, and many received him to the sound of warlike music. *Our Officers remarked, that the Portrait of the First Consul was very general amongst the English Squadron.*

(Signed) VILLARET."

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, Commander on the Jamaica station, to Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, at the Cape.

On board his Britannic Majesty's Ship the Leviathan, at Port Royal, Jamaica, Feb. 19, 1802.

"Sir,

"I received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me, communicating the arrival at the Cape of the French forces under your command, and I am flattered by the confidence with which you have honoured me in informing me of the state of those forces and their destination. This information is perfectly conformable to that which I received from his Majesty's ministers, who transmitted to me at the same time orders from the King, my master, to treat the French nation with all possible respect.

"So far however as relates to provisions, which your Excellency seems to fear you may be in want of, I sincerely regret that our present situation in consequence of the arrival of a great naval and military force, renders it impossible for me to give you any hope of assistance. Our own resources are so limited, too, I have been obliged to detach frigates to different points, in order to seek the means of preserving us from entire distress, and I have, as well as your Excellency, sought to draw succours from the American Continent.

"It is with sentiments of grief that I have learned the hostile reception your Excellency has met with, and the direct violation of all the duties of colonies towards the mother country.

"I perfectly agree with you as to the consequences of such conduct, and I think it is of the greatest importance to all the powers of Europe: but with the considerable force under the orders of your Excellency this revolt cannot be of long duration, and the devastations committed by the rebels can only produce a temporary evil.

"I have the honour to be, with high consideration for your Excellency,

"Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

"*John Thomas Duckworth,*

"Rear-Admiral, &c. &c.

Admiral Duckworth to Ad. Villaret.

An extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Duckworth to the French Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, having appeared in the Moniteur of the 28th of last month, dated Port Royal, Jamaica, Feb. 19, it has been judged advisable to communicate to the public the sequel of that letter, which is there omitted:

"The officer bearing your Excellency's dispatches having laid much stress upon the salute being returned (though only a private Captain) with an equal number of guns, I did not hesitate in objecting to a compliance contrary to the established custom: but on his representing that he was authorized

by your Excellency to say a reciprocal attention should be paid to the ships of the King, my Master, arriving with dispatches and saluting your flag, I have accorded in giving an equal number of guns, to evince my disposition to meet your ideas, as far as consistent with the consequence of both nations.—And I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) "J. DUCKWORTH,

"Rear-Admiral, &c. &c. &c.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lacrosse, Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies, to the Minister of the Marine and its Colonies, dated Dominica, Feb. 16.

"In a dispatch of the 31st ult. which you must have received by the way of St. Domingo and of England, I announced to you the sailing from Point à Petre of the frigate La Cocarde, and its arrival at Dominica. It is to be attributed to the zeal and fidelity of Citizen Henry, and the officers employed under him, that they escaped from the tyranny of the rebels. He had been dispatched by the usurped authority of that island, to convey to France three citizens under the title of Commissaries, for the purpose, as they called it, of *enlightening the religion of the First Consul.*"

[The letter then goes on to state, that the Commissaries only undertook that charge to escape more surely the tyranny of the rebels, and that Captain Henry had confirmed the reports of the amelioration of public opinion in that colony, and the disunion which appeared to exist among the chiefs of the insurrection.]

"Having determined to take possession of the Isle of Marie Galante, General Seriziat, at the head of a small detachment, entered the island amidst the universal acclamations of the inhabitants, who expressed the greatest satisfaction at being delivered from the yoke of the rebels."

The following address was presented on Thursday the 13th of May:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, beg leave to approach the Throne with the most lively sentiments of allegiance, gratitude, and affection, to congratulate your Majesty on the return of Peace to the United Kingdoms, over which Providence has placed your Majesty, not more conspicuously to govern than to bless.

"When we contemplate the nature of the War in which your Majesty has been engaged; the unexampled difficulties which have attended its progress; and, above all, the great object of preservation, which it had in view, namely, the inviolate purity of that venerable structure, our glorious Constitution, at once the Palladium of our Liberties, and the Sanctuary of our Altars; what must necessarily be our triumphant feelings, as Britons, at the close of this arduous contest! which inscribes in the Archives of Europe, your Majesty's Navy more proudly pre-eminent than at the termination of any former War—which, to the name of the British Soldier, gives a lustre equal to the glory of ancient times, and which records the determined efforts of your Majesty's people, united in arms, an impregnable bulwark for the protection of every thing dear to them, and an illustrious precedent of genuine patriotism to future time.

"The voice of Omnipotence has arrested the devastation of a bloody, extended, and expensive War, and long contending Nations are at length at rest.—Your Majesty's faithful Subjects who have struggled for the attainment of this important period, will, while they appreciate the blessings of Peace, know likewise to prize its duties, by which alone those blessings can be secured. They will perceive, that a faithful adherence to the Laws, and a reverence for the Constitution that framed them, are inseparable:—and that, by their unshaken loyalty, to their unswerving attachment to the revered system of our Ancestors, that Constitution has under Providence been hitherto preserved, and will be able to stem the torrent of ages yet to come.

"Your Majesty's loyal Citizens of London renew at this moment most ardently their fervent prayers for the long continuance of your Majesty's auspicious Reign, and for every blessing which your Royal Bosom can receive from the prosperity and happiness of a free, grateful, and united People.

Signed, by order of the Court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

His Majesty received them very graciously, and returned the following answer:

"I thank you for this very loyal and affectionate Address, and for your congratulations on the restoration of the Public Peace. Your cordial and steady attachment to our invaluable Constitution; and the lively sense you express of the unrivalled exertions which have been displayed by my Subjects of every description, are most grateful to me, and cannot fail to secure to my City of London my constant favour and protection."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The Proceedings in Parliament, during the last week, are of considerable importance; but we are compelled to postpone, 'till next week, the insertion of the debates.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

United States of America.—The New-York Gazette of the 24th March contains the following article, which the Editor states to be an extract from a member of Congress at Washington, and to have been received the preceding day: "This day the French "Consul informs us, that a French fleet of "twenty-five sail of the line may be ex-"pected in the Chesapeake next week.

"Their object is provisions for their army "in the West-Indies; *but they have no* "*money.*"

Report of the Committee, to whom was referred that part of the message of the President, which relates to naval preparations, and the establishment of scites for naval purposes:

1st. Six navy yards to be purchased.

2d. Timber for building eight 74 gun-ships has been purchased.

3d. The timber ought to be secured under suitable sheds to preserve it.

4th. Charlestown in Massachusetts, and Norfolk in Virginia, appear the most eligible places for receiving and repairing ships in actual service.

5th. The ships in ordinary ought to remain at Washington.

6th. Two ships the Adams and General Green, being of bad construction, ought to be sold, and the money applied in building or purchasing others, or to the improvement at Charlestown and Norfolk.

7th. The rations of the seamen to be enlarged conformably to the report of the Secretary of the Navy; and recommend for improving the navy yards, docks, and wharfs, that there be appropriated 50,000 dollars; and for wear, tear, and military stores of vessels, &c. 87,666 dollars, making together 137,666 dollars.

Extract from the Registers of the Decrees of the President of the Italian Republic.

Paris, April 3, 1802.

Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, and President of the Italian Republic, in consequence of the 83d Article of the Constitution, which runs thus, Government convokes the Legislative Body, and prorogues its session:

Decrees—The meeting of the Members of the Legislative Body, for the session of the year 1802, shall take place on the 24th of the month of June, at Milan, in the Palace prepared for that purpose.

The present Decree shall be sealed with the Seal of State, inserted in the Official Journal, and inscribed in the Registers of the Civil and Administrative Authorities. The Grand Judge is charged with the publication of the present act.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*
For the President, *F. Marescalchi.*

Paris, May 21.—A treaty between the Republic and the Duke of Wirtemberg was signed on the 19th inst. by Citizen Hauterive, Chief of Division of Foreign Affairs, and the Baron de Normann.

Paris, May 26.—The Colony of St. Domingo, which for so long a period has been delivered up to disorder, is about to be restored to its former situation. Until this day, for some years past, its commerce has been subject to no regulation. The French nation, to whom it exclusively belongs, has not sent there a single vessel. It must return to the ancient order of things, but only by degrees; it must also, as before, be divided between National and Foreign Commerce, giving to each its respective share. But prudence forbids that the one to which it has been so unfortunately given up, should be suddenly taken away, and every thing restored to the other. It must wait the return of ancient habits, it must wait till the products of our manufactures are perfected: the communication with England has caused a cessation of ancient wants, while it has given birth to new. The trade must be suited with those articles which will be of service to the grower of colonial produce.—Who doubts that the English have introduced into St. Domingo some new processes of art, of real utility, which they have been able to bring to perfection by their great knowledge on many points of culture and manufacture?

May 28.—Lord Hutchinson came to Geneva about the middle of May, and remained there several days.

May 29—His Excellency Ghalib-Effendi, Bachmouhassebe, (Comptroller of the Finances) Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Sublime Porte to the government of the Republic, left Vienna about the 20th May, and is arrived at Strasbourg.

The Chief Consul had sent to the frontiers to receive him, Citizen Dupas, Superior Adjutant of the Palace of Government, and Citizen Dantan, Chief Interpreter of the French Legation at Constantinople.

The following observations, which we copy from the proceedings of the Council of Commerce at Bourdeaux, will no doubt have some weight with the French Government:—

"*Commerce with England.*

"It would no doubt be very advantageous to France to obtain a diminution of the heavy duties paid by the wines of France. These duties amount to a prohibition, except in the case of those persons whose circumstances are extremely easy. The demand might be made, but the gaining of

this point would perhaps cost concessions, the reciprocity of which might not be beneficial to us. With respect to navigation, the two nations may agree that their flags shall enjoy in the respective ports the same advantages as those possessed by the most favoured nations. They might also concur in fixing the rate of exchange, at *twenty-four livres for every pound sterling* in the transactions of their respective factories."

The Captain-General Leclerc, has published the following arrêt, which is perfectly adapted to existing circumstances, as it does not take away every thing from foreigners, nor restore every thing to the French; but the diminution of half the duties of importation in favour of the latter, is an encouragement, of which the effects cannot fail to be decisive.

Army of St. Domingo.

"*Head-Quarters, Port Républicain,*
"*March* 31, 1802.

"The General in Chief orders,

"Art. I. That all French Vessels arriving directly from France, and loaded with French merchandize, shall pay the half of the duties on importation and exportation paid by foreign vessels.

"II. All vessels loaded with merchandize, being the manufacture of other countries, shall pay as a duty on importation, twenty per cent.

"The General in Chief,
"*Leclerc.*"

The Hamburgh papers contain the following article.—"The Queen of Prussia is "to attend the King on his tour, only as far "as Konigsberg, when his Majesty will pro-"ceed to Memel, to hold an interview with "the Emperor of Russia."

The army of the French Republic is to consist of 300,000 men.

Berlin, May 15.—It appears certain that the Duke of Brunswick will make a journey to Prussia towards the end of June, but it is very doubtful whether he will be at Memel between the 10th and 14th of June, as reported.

Milan, May 17.—By an article from Madrid, of the date of the 27th of April, it appears that the King of Spain has published an Edict, by which he annexes in perpetuity to the Royal Domain, the *Langues* and possessions of the Order of Malta in Spain, and declares himself Grand Master of the Order in his States, keeping the direction of the Civil Administration, and leaving the Spiritual to the authority of the Church and the Holy Father, who will not disapprove of this arrangement.

Berne, May 20.—To the political commotions which have distracted this unfortunate country, an earthquake has been added, which has spread a new kind of terror over the minds of the people. A part of Rubland, in the Canton of Baden, experienced a shock on the 9th inst. About four in the afternoon of the same day, a subterraneous noise was heard in the environs of Windisch, Biligen, Raemingen, Geisberg, and Koenisfilden, similar to the noise of a chariot rolling, or of cannon at a distance. On the 12th a violent shock was felt at Zurich and other places. In this city, many old men who were walking, were thrown down, the town house, and several other houses were shaken. At Zurich the shock was general, and in the evening a fire happened, which consumed seven houses, and greatly added to the trouble and fear of the people.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The 29th, 49th, and 59th regiments, are all under orders for Nova Scotia and Canada.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge arrived at Cuxhaven on Sunday last, and in the evening pursued his journey to Hanover.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent has arrived at Gibraltar, where his Royal Brother the Duke of Sussex was arrived, over-land from Lisbon, before him.

Yesterday (the 4th of June), being the anniversary of His Majesty's Birth day, was celebrated with the usual demonstrations of joy. The illuminations were less numerous than last year, owing to an opinion, which some persons entertain, that that mode of expressing joy has been, in the last two or three instances, rendered disgraceful and infamous. Of this opinion is the Editor of this work, who, in expressing the love and veneration, which he feels towards the sacred person of his Sovereign, never can think of employing the same means, which have been employed to celebrate the triumph of Buonaparté and the degradation of England.

Addresses on the peace have come in from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as also from the dissenting ministers. Several cities, boroughs, and counties have also sent similar addresses.

The Nabob of Oude has been compelled to cede to the East-India Company in perpetual sovereignty certain portions of the Vizier's territorial possessions, yielding an

annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees (one million three hundred and fifty thousand pounds), in commutation of the subsidy hitherto payable to the Company by the Vizier.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The dissolution of the parliament is retarded by the great mass of business, which yet remains on hand, and which it would be very inconvenient to postpone. The Clergy Non-residence Bill cannot be hurried through, and yet it is impossible to leave the object which it has in view, totally unprovided for. Great difference of opinion appears to prevail respecting it, and it is, indeed, very difficult to say, what course ought to be taken. That residence ought to be enforced, some how or other, every person who wishes well to the church must allow; but the law and the livings, as they now stand, are inadequate for that purpose: pass a law enforcing residence, without discrimination, and in many parishes, you leave no clergyman at all; for Sir William Scott has clearly proved, that it is absolutely impossible for one third part of the clergy to exist upon the produce of the livings, if twenty pounds a year, or less can be called a *living*. The discussion of this subject will have one good effect: it will convince all reasonable men, that the clergy are not so pampered as they have been represented to be. Their ease and luxury have been the standing theme of envy and of abuse for many many years: the big-bellied vicar and his half-starved parishioners have been exhibited to the passing crowd, in St. Paul's Church-yard, every day, except Sundays, for forty years past. The picture might, with great truth, be reversed. A half-starved clergyman, amidst a crowd of big-bellied rosy-gilled farmers, is to be found in one half of the parishes in the kingdom. Considering the character and the well-known disposition of Mr. M. A. Taylor, we were much surprized at a sentiment, which escaped him in the debate of Monday last. "Who *pay* the clergy? "The laity. And when the people pay a "clergyman £500 a year, shall it rest "with the bishop whether they shall have "any clergyman or not?" These are the words, which the news-papers give to Mr. Taylor? but we are very certain, that they are words, which he will not, upon cool consideration, repeat. The clergy are not *paid* by the people any more than the landholders are. The tithes are as much their property as the rent is the property of the landlord; the title of the former can no more be destroyed than the title of the latter; and why the clergyman should receive as *pay* what the landlord demands as his own, we cannot perceive. A man, who should attempt to defraud his landlord of his rent, would be deemed, and justly deemed, a cheat; yet we see no loss of character attached to him who is in the constant habit of defrauding his rector or vicar. This distinction, together with all the plunder that has been committed, and is daily and hourly committing upon the church, is solely to be attributed to the false, the dangerous and degrading notion, that the tithes are given by way of *payment* to the priest for services rendered, for so much work done, for the persons by whom they are raised. Nothing can be more erroneous. The tithes do not belong to the husbandman: they never can be called his; and, therefore, he never can give them in payment. The clergyman claims them as his right, unfettered with any conditions whatsoever, other than those which he enters into with God and the King. It has been the fashion, of late years, to talk very familiarly about "*abolishing* tithes." Those who have lands would do well to consider how they would relish the abolishing of *rents*; for they may rest assured, that the latter will never be far behind the former. Those who would make a law for abolishing tithes, would, probably, not wish to make another for abolishing rents; but they would very soon find a set of legislators to do it for them.—We are extremely happy to hear, that there is an intention of doing something to better the lot of the clergy; but we hope that no projet of *secularization*, of *commutation*, or of *compulsory composition*, will ever, for a moment, be entertained. The law for the redemption of the land-tax has already broken in upon the church: let the breach go no further, or the whole fabric comes to the ground with the throne tumbling upon its ruins.—When we reflect on the vast importance of the subject of non-residence, and other matters, either directly or indirectly, connected therewith, we cannot help wishing, that nothing may be done in a hurry. One false step may lead to another, and total subversion may finally ensue.

We congratulate the country on the fate of the "Manure Bill," which, on the motion of Lord Holland, has been thrown bye, as being of a nature too trifling and

low for the consideration of the House of Peers, a motion for which his lordship will receive the thanks of every considerate man in the nation. The *multitude of laws* has been, and with good reason, reckoned amongst the greatest calamities of the French revolution. In America, where there are eighteen different sets of lawgivers hard at work, every year, from about Michaelmas to Lady-day, legislating upon trifles has finally produced such indifference with respect to legislative decisions, that a new law is regarded as the mere lumber of a news-paper. Yet these lessons produce no effect. There are a set of *well-meaning men*, in this country, who would pass laws for the regulating and restraining of every feeling of the human breast, and and every motion of the human frame; they would bind us down, hair by hair, as the Liliputians did Gulliver, 'till anon, when we awoke from our sleep, we should wonder by whom we had been enslaved.

While, however, people seem totally insensible of the danger to be apprehended from this multiplication of laws, while they seem even to vie with each other in the invention of these trammels for their neighbours and themselves, there are some who are, or who affect to be, jealous of the increase of a *standing army*, and who, while the coast of France glistens with bayonets, while she has an army of 300,000 men, ready to employ against any and every part of our dominions, would willingly leave us not a soldier at the disposal of the crown; would willingly rest upon a body of militia, confined within the bounds of our island. This is perfectly conformable to the *defensive* system, which seems to have been adopted, and which, if well followed up, will, in a very few years, reduce this kingdom to a mere factory. Militia men and yeomen may be good men, they may even be brave men; but they are not *soldiers*. Instinctive courage is, indeed, a necessary ingredient, but it is by no means the principal one, in the character of a soldier, whose corporeal virtues are much oftener wanted than his mental ones. If we had to choose a soldier, we should inquire, not into the qualities of his mind, but into those of his limbs and his body. The most effeminate of the fops that crowd our streets would pull a trigger, and, with a serjeant at his back, would probably stand the heat of a battle; but, load him with a knapsack and sixty rounds of ball-cartridges, march him thirty miles through woods or over burning sands, give him, for supper, pork broiled upon the coals, and, for a bed, the bare earth, and the next day he loads your baggage-waggon, or goes quietly to his grave. Hardships are not to be found in Chatham barracks or in Bagshot camp; and the man, who has not learnt to bear hardships is not a soldier. It is impossible, too, to support, in a body of militia, a due degree of that subordination, which is the life and soul of an army. In the unfortunate engagement, which the American General Sinclair had with the Indians, his militia men were in such haste to decamp, that they threw away their arms and ammunition, their knapsacks, and even their coats, while a handful of regular troops, made a bold resistance, stood their ground for a long time, and, after being overpowered by numbers, made a regular and successful retreat. The runaways were of the same country as those who fought so bravely; but their bodies were not hardened, their minds not bent to implicit obedience. Militia men are always looking towards *home*: they are what the regulars term them, "featherbed soldiers." Many very material amendments may, doubtless be introduced into the militia laws; but, do what you will, the militia will always be, in some sort, a deliberative body; a body large in bulk and small in strength; always troublesome and expensive, and never to be relied upon in the hour of danger; in short, Dryden's description of this species of military force seems to us to be the most just that can possibly be given.

"The country rings around with loud alarms,
"And raw in fields the rude Militia swarms;
"Mouths without hands, maintained at vast expense,
"In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;
"Stout, once a month, they march a blus'tering band,
"And ever, *but in times of need*, at hand;
"Of seeming arms they make a short essay,
"Then hasten to be drunk—the business of the day."

It is strange, too, that those persons, who are alarmed for their *liberties* when a standing army is talked of, should never have made a comparison between the liberty, which they may possibly be deprived of by a standing army, and that which they really must lose by a mandate to join the militia. Every young fellow in a parish is haunted with a dread of being drafted for a militia man, until the lot at last reaches him, or until he voluntarily takes shelter in the army to get rid of the tantalizing suspense. And this is *liberty!* In America (for that's the very nest of

liberty), the people continually clamour against a standing army, and really, to this hour, they quote the old invectives of Russel and Sidney, and God knows who; but they very quietly submit, every man of them, to be held, during their whole lives, in a constant state of requisition, and are actually called out as often as some barber captain or taylor colonel chooses to treat his wife with a field-day. In England, where *liberty* is upon the decline, a man is subjected to this unbearable thraldom but a short portion of his life, but who would not rather be free from it altogether?

From the militia we would now turn to the slave-trade, and offer our readers some few remarks on that most important subject, which we were in hopes the wisdom of the House of Lords had laid for ever at rest; but, it is a matter which demands more room and more time than we have at present to spare. In every one of the arguments, which the abolitionists advance, they are to be met, and, we trust, easily discomfited. In the mean time, it may not be amiss, however, to state, that there is, at this moment, a petition on the table of the House of Commons, from the Sierra Leone Company, praying for *relief*, in consequence of the losses it has sustained from the troubles in the colony. What! troubles, and battles, and bloodshed, in that new Utopia, where philanthropy reigned in person, where the tears were to be wiped from all eyes and the weals from all backs, where the *harmless* African was, at last, to find rest from his labours! The annals of Bedlam does not furnish a stronger instance of madness than the establishment of this colony, and we hope, that, while many of the French Royalists are starving in our streets for want of a trifling addition to their miserable pittance, no money will be granted the citizens of Sierra Leone, unless it be to carry those of them who are not already disposed of on the gallows, back to clear the lands in Nova Scotia, where they lived in as much comfort as their native laziness would permit. That this application for *forces* and for money will not pass *sub silentio* we trust, and, if it becomes a subject of discussion, we are well assured, that there is too much wisdom and justice in Parliament to add to the burdens of the people of England, and to send Englishmen to be suffocated on the sands of Africa, merely to gratify the close-veiled ambition of the leading members of the Company of Sierra Leone. We shall watch the progress of this curious petition, which we hope will share the fate of that of the Booksellers and Printers, to whom the citizens of Leone, do, in truth, bear no very distant resemblance, whether we consider the qualities of the mind or the colour of the skin. But, if the philanthropic colony should be actually broken up, it may be no very uninteresting speculation, to consider what is to become of that hopeful tribe of pastors and masters, whom Messrs. Thornton and Wilberforce are training up in their academy at Clapham. Work they will not, and to beg they will be ashamed. *Livings* they cannot very well be presented to; for, though, doubtless, most excellent "Gospel ministers," it is, as yet, required that a priest should have hair upon him, while their heads are, unfortunately, covered with wool. Such, however, will be their yearnings and bowel-hankerings for the ministry, that it will be absolutely impossible to restrain them; and, therefore, if such sinful creatures as we may be permitted to speak, we would recommend, that each of these comely youths should be furnished with a tub, and that the whole seminary should be equally distributed amongst the conventicles in the different counties of the kingdom, a situation for which they are eminently qualified both by their moral and physical capacities.

This dear little busy bustling England furnishes so many and such delightful topics, that we can scarcely find time to take a glance at foreign countries. The only circumstance, which has occurred to us, as worth remark, is, certain indications, which have appeared in the French news-papers, of an intention to enter into some sort of a commercial arrangement with this country. This arrangement, as we have frequently asserted, will be aimed at our *navigation laws*, which we have good reason, and very good reason, to believe, our ministers are prepared to sacrifice in part, by way of a begining. The ship-owners appear to have taken the alarm; but, it is too late. They have the manufacturing and the monied interest to contend with, and their ships and sailors must go to other climes. War is over. We want no fleet to-day, and as for to-morrow, let the morrow take care of itself, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. So says Mr. Addington, and Mr. Wilberforce says, *Amen*. What the nation will say, when, eighteen months or two years hence, the French shall menace our colonies, or this kingdom itself,

is another question, and a question too, about which the present ministers neither care nor think. Give us peace in our day, say they, and let that day be as long as possible.

As our readers are deeply concerned in the result of the judicial proceedings against the persons, who were concerned in demolishing the house of the Editor of this work, it may be proper to inform them, that on the 3d inst. bills of indictment were found against CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), a *clerk in the General Post office*, C. WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in the General Post-office*, and JOHN HARWOOD, amanuensis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to the British Critic. Against SAMUEL WISE and JOHN PARNELL no bills were found, and it is, therefore, to be concluded, that they were innocent. Parnell is an excise-officer, and in justice to the Commissioners in that department, we must observe, that they have, in this instance, acted with great propriety, in *suspending* him till his guilt or his innocence should be legally established. He will now, doubtless, be restored to his situation.

☞ *We regret very much that we have not been able to insert the whole of the communication of X, on which we set great value, and the remainder of which shall certainly appear in our next.—Several other articles are left out only for want of room.*

☞ *Complete sets of this work may be had by applying to any of the newsmen, or of Messrs. Cobbett and Morgan, Pall Mall. The Register leaves town by the Saturday's post, and goes, post-free, to every part of the kingdom.*

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—Lately, at Mary-le-bone, Gilbert Harvey West, Esq. to Miss Ffolkes, eldest daughter of Sir Martin Browne Ffolkes, Bart. In November last, at Dinapore, in the East-Indies, C. S. Maling, Esq. brother to Lady Mulgrave, to Miss Moore, daughter of Sir William Moore, Baronet, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

Deaths.—On Tuesday, at Morden Hall, Surry, Lady Burnett, wife of Sir Robert Burnett. On Wednesday, the 19th ult. Sir Philip Ainslie, of Pilton. On Saturday se'nnight, at his Lordship's house, St. James's-place, the Countess of Roden. Lately, at Nancy, in France, the Right Hon. Lady Ann Saltmarsh, sister to the late, and aunt to the present Earl of Fingall. On the 2d of March, at Fort Royal Town, Martinique, Lieutenant Charles Wake, of the Royal Marines, nephew of the late Sir W. Wake, Bart. of Courtain-hall, in the County of Northampton.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	182	—	—
3 per Cent Red. Ann.	—	73¾	—	72¼	71	—
3 per Cent Consols.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent Consols.	—	88¾	—	88	87⅝	—
5 per Cent Ann.	—	103⅛	—	103⅜	103½	—
Bank Long Ann.	—	20¾	—	20¾	20⅝	—
D° Short 1778 & 1779	—	4⅞	—	4⅞	—	—
Imp. 3 per Cent.	—	72	—	71⅝	—	—
D° Ann.	—	—	—	—	11⅞	—
5 per Cent 1797	—	104¼	—	103⅝	—	—
Omnium	—	¾	—	¼	—	—
India Stock	—	—	—	—	211	—
D° Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	1s 3d	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	—	—	—	99¼	—	—
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	2 dis	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 112¼.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 60 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. c.f.	10 15	us.	LEGHORN	51¼
D°, at sight	10 11		NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 16	us.	GENOA	47¼
HAMBURGH	32 11	2½us.	VENICE, 59¼ livres piccole effective per £. ster.	
ALTONA	33	2½us.	LISBON	67½
PARIS 2 us	24	liv.	OPORTO	67
BOURDEAUX, d°	24 1		DUBLIN	12¾
CADIZ	34	in paper	BILBOA	36 D°
DITTO	35½	effective	PALERMO	
MADRID	34	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO	36½	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	56	to 68	Hops per cwt.	80	to 140
Foreign	46	.. 67	Hay per load	80	.. 95
Rye	30	.. 34	Beef, per stone	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.	
Barley	30	.. 34			
Malt	44	.. 51	Mutton	5s. 4d.	to 6s.
Oats	14	.. 25	Veal	4s. 0d.	to 5s. 6d.
Pease (white)	35	.. 39	Pork	4s. 8d.	to 5s. 4d.
Beans (horse)	31	.. 35	Tallow	8s. 9d.	
Flour per sack	50	.. 58	Average of Sugar per cwt.	32s. 7½d.	
Seconds	45	.. 50			
Coals per chal.	38	.. 43	Salt, per Bushel	14s.	

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Months of May and June*, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
27		Fine.	ESE	E	29,82	29,82	65	72
28		Fine.	S	S	29,75	29,69	69,5	73
29		Ra. Fa. Ra	SW	SW	29,41	29,37	64	65
30		Rain.	NE	E-S	29,5	29,5	48	51
31	●	Rain.	NE	NE	29,7	29,71	46	48
1		Fair.	NE	NE	29,86	29,86	46	53,5
2		Fair.	NE	NE	29,93	29,93	54	58

● *New Moon* (*1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.*) *last Quar.*

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where all the former numbers may be had.